A Sanctifying Serpent: Crucifix as Cure

Herbert L. Kessler

In a very few lines in his work in progress *Interfacing with God*, Karl Morrison sets out a fundamental concept of early medieval art that has, too often, been ignored. In a characteristically sensitive and productive analysis of the two-page opening in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald (823–77) in Munich (Schatzkammer der Residenz, MS *s.n.*, fols 38^{v}–39^{r}; Plate 1),[1] he puts in centre place the idea that the very act of looking at images of Christ was, itself, believed to have a curative effect. Advancing earlier important work by Robert Deshman[2] and Celia Chazelle[3] on the pairing (in the Prayer Book's sole illustration) of the humble Charles and pictured Crucifixion, Morrison teases out from the asymmetrical pictures a dynamic interplay between the two kings, earthly and celestial. In turn, he examines the empathy the images elicit in the reader/viewer (originally Charles himself) who looked at the 'diptych' and read the words of the titulus: 'Christ, you dispelled the world's crimes on the Cross, Release me, as I pray, from all my wounds.'[4] Underlying the pictures and brief text, Morrison shows, is the notion found in Hrabanus Maurus, Remigius of Auxerre (*c*. 841–908), and others of Christ as the 'perfect physician'. In this contribution, I wish to expand Morrison's observations by examining the trope of Moses' brazen

[1] Cf. Koehler and Mütherich, *Die karolingische Miniaturen*, v, 75–87. The precise date and localization remain somewhat open. The reference to Charles's wife Hermintrude (married 842, died 869) provides a quarter-of-a-century parameter; Soissons or Compiègne have been suggested for the place of origin.

[2] Deshman, 'The Exalted Servant'.

[3] Chazelle, 'An *Exemplum* of Humility', and Chazelle, 'Crucifixes and the Liturgy'.

[4] *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, III. 2, 243: 'In cruce qui mundi solvisti crimina Christe | Orando mihimet tu vulnera cuncta resolve.'

Studies on Medieval Empathies, ed. by Karl F. Morrison and Rudolph M. Bell | DISPUT 25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 161–185 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.DISPUT-EB.1.100309

serpent that underlies the Munich 'diptych', the scriptural reference to a divinely ordained 'sculpture' that had been entered into image debates already in the eighth century and that was subsequently deployed to reinforce more general claims about art's capacity to heal.

That Christ was a doctor was not a new idea. From the very beginning, depictions of the Saviour, who in his life on earth had repeatedly demonstrated divine power by curing the sick and maimed, were patterned on portraits of Serapis and Aesclepius,[5] as on the so-called polychrome sarcophagus in the Terme Museum in Rome. In turn, during the Carolingian period, Aesclepius was fashioned after Christ, for instance, in a herbal in Kassel (Landesbibliothek und Murhadsche Bibliothek, MS Phys. et hist. nat. 10, fol. 1[r]; Figure 1),[6] which shows the ancient *medicus* sitting on a globe throne and passing his prescriptions on to new doctors, like Christ in the *traditio legis* pictured on a mid-ninth-century ivory book cover in Paris (BnF, MS lat. 323; Figure 2).[7]

In the Prayer Book, Christ's curative power is conveyed, not through the assimilation of the god of medicine, however, but rather by means of a reciprocity generated in the act of looking at a material image — first the King is depicted looking at the Crucified and then the viewer actually examines the paired miniatures. The interplay between the King in full regalia shown humbled on his knees and the naked Saviour being crowned with a wreath, which Morrison discusses with great eloquence, is furthered in a startling way by the wounds on Christ's chest, painted as rings of red dots that can only be seen as counterparts to the ornament on the magnificent tunic that covers Charles's own torso (Plate 2). This rendering of the Saviour's wounds as precious ornament is extended to the nails that pierce his hands and feet, which are painted in gold. In other words, not only the looking but also the very materials of the object generate a reciprocal movement.

The parallel between kingly adornment and the marks of Christ's suffering is found also in Carolingian writings. Theodulf of Orléans (*c.* 750/60–821), for instance, claimed that

> [Christ retained his wounds after the Resurrection so] that the elect might never stop to render praise, as long as they see, O passion, your marks, and seeing in his cruel punishment their salvation, in his descent to hell their ascent to heaven; that by his death, their own life might be rich in all things, and by his thorns golden crowns be given them.[8]

[5] Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, pp. 30, 109, 135, 173.

[6] *Medicina medievale*, ed. by Firpo.

[7] Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, no. 71, p. 37, plates 71a, 71b.

[8] Theodulf of Orléans, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, p. 466, lines 25–30: 'Tertio, ut electi

Figure 1. *Aesclepius* (Landesbibliothek und Murhadsche Bibliothek, MS Phys. et hist. nat. 10, fol. 1ᵗ). Photo: Kassel, Landesbibliothek.

And Jonas of Orléans (*c*. 760–841) deployed the trope in his refutation of Claudius of Turin (fl. 810–27):

> For the bodies of the martyrs are precious, because they received wounds for God and because the stigmata of Christ were impressed on their limbs; and as a king's crown, decorated everywhere, emits variegated brightness, so too the bodies of the holy martyrs, like the brilliance of jewels, receiving for the wounds of Christ all the precious things of a king's crown. And they reflect more brightly.[9]

Tellingly, Jonas incorporated the argument within the context of the image disputes that had engaged Carolingian theologians in the wake of Byzantine iconoclasm.

In the Munich Prayer Book, the play on Christ's ornamented flesh is mapped onto the book itself. Painted on the only folios in the book that are stained purple, the facing pictures are framed in gold adorned with pearls, as is the King's cape; and Charles's crown penetrates into the lines of the titulus, themselves inscribed in gold on red parchment. Already in the first surviving manuscript illuminated for Charles's grandfather Charlemagne, gold letters written on red-stained vellum were interpreted in terms of Christ's suffering and the redemption it provided:

> The golden letters were written on pages painted purple.
> They reveal the celestial realm through the red-coloured
> blood of God and the shimmering joys of the starry heaven,
> and the Word of God, glimmering in the majestic lustre,
> promises the sparkling reward of eternal life.
> See, the divine precepts decorated with the colour of roses
> demonstrate that the gifts of the martyrs should be accepted;
> the pure virginity of the heavenly dwellings,
> are produced through the glow of the costly yellow gold and
> through the glittering silver.

desistant reddere nunquam | Laudis opus, tua dum, passio, signa vident | Eius et altra suam cernentes flagra salutem | Ad Styga concursus eius ad astra suos | Eius morte suam pollere per omnia vitam | Et tribui spinis aurea serta sibi; *Quamobrem cicatrices, quas Dominus in passione suscepit, in resurrectione obductae non sint*.' Theodulf of Orléans, 'The Poetry', trans. by Alexandrenko, pp. 89–91. See also Waddell, *Poetry in the Dark Ages*, p. 26.

[9] Jonas of Orléans, *De cultu imaginum*, ed. by Migne, col. 328: 'Pretiosa enim sunt martyrum corpora, quoniam plagas pro Domino susceperunt, et quia stigmata propter Christum membris suis impressa ferunt; et sicut corona regalis, undique decorate, fulgores varios emittit, ita et sanctorum martyum corpora, sicut pretiosis lapidibus, exceptis pro Christo vulneribus distincta, omni regum diademate pretiosiora spectabiliora redduntur.'

Figure 2. *Traditio legis* (ivory book cover; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 323). Photo: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

> So the doctrine of God, written in precious metals, leads
> those following the light of the Gospels with a pure heart
> into the shining halls of the kingdom flowing with light,
> and sets those who climb above the high stars of heaven's vault
> in the bridal chamber of the king of heaven forever.[10]

Through reference to Christ's divinity invested in his flesh, the very materials of the manuscript's sole image thus, themselves, engage the viewer in a process of transforming rich ornament and colour into a curative contemplation of the Divinity.[11]

The serpent set against a clump of earth beneath the Cross and turning up towards Christ reinforces the theme of art's therapeutic power implied by the play between Charles's earthly riches and Christ's wounds. A Carolingian innovation that was to become widespread in later representations of the Crucifixion, the snake vanquished by Christ's death on the Cross may, in fact, have been introduced first in this very picture painted around the middle of the ninth century. (The sole contender for priority is the initial *O* in the Drogo Sacramentary (BnF, MS lat. 9428, fol. 43^{v}) which dates from 845–55.[12]) A counterpart to the wound in Christ's chest towards which Charles directs his gaze, the snake's open mouth — the orifice through which humankind had been seduced to disobey God — is a reminder of the original sin that made the Saviour's life-giving death necessary. And, as the lower end of the axis topped by the gemmed wreath extended by the Hand of God (another new feature together with the sun and moon), it serves to establish Christ's body as the channel from earth to heaven, much in the manner of Theodulf's words 'in his descent to hell their ascent to heaven'.

The snake taps into lore transmitted in the Latin *Physiologus*, which describes Satan as the largest of all serpents; indeed, it has an analogue in the depiction of

[10] *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, I, 94–95: 'Aurea purpureis pinguntur grammata scedis, | Regna poli roseo pate — sanguine — facta tonantis | Fulgida stelligeri promunt et gaudia caeli, | Eloquiumque dei digno fulgore choruscans | Splendida perpetuae promittit praemia vitae. | En precepta dei decorate colore rosarum | Munera martyrii demonstrant esse capenda, | Candida virginitas caelorum cara colonis | Auri flaventis specie hortatur habenda, | Argentique figuratur splendore micantis | Vita maritorum cunctis concessa iugalis. | Sic doctrina dei pretiosis scripta metallis | Lucida luciflui perducit ad atria regni | Lumen evangelii sectantes corde benigno, | Scandentesque poli super ardua sidera celsi | Collacat in thalamo caelorum regis in aevum.' Koehler and Mütherich, *Die karolingische Miniaturen*, II, 49–55; Brenk, 'Schriftlichkeit und Bildlichkeit in der Hofschule Karls d. Gr.'; Reudenbach, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar*; Lafitte and Denoël, 'L'Évangélaire de Charlemagne'.

[11] Kessler, '"Hoc visibile imaginatum figurat illud invisibile verum"'.

[12] Koehler and Mütherich, *Die karolingische Miniaturen*, III, 143–62; Chazelle, 'An *Exemplum* of Humility'.

the salamander-serpent in a *Physiologus* in Bern (Bern, Burgerbibl., Cod. 318, fol. 17^{v}; Plate 3),[13] illuminated at Reims about the same time the Prayer Book was being produced, which illustrates the belief that the serpent's poison was detoxified by the *peridexion*, a tree understood to symbolize Christ and believed to render believers immune to the devil.[14] The cross in the Prayer Book should be interpreted in the same way, namely, as the instrument that not only neutralizes Satan's toxic bite but that also fully vanquishes the evil seducer, a notion conveyed also by the double entendre in the caption of *vulnera*, as sins and wounds.

In iconography, where one double entendre leads, others tend to follow. There is indeed a greater double entendre, for, in one of iconography's surprising convergences of opposites, Charles's illumination displays an asymmetrical pairing of serpents. With his foot extended and hands raised up to the Lord, the King mimics the serpent's pose, whose tail drops below the frame at the right and whose mouth is turned upward. In a sense, the King replaces Adam's skull beneath the Cross on Golgotha, which may first have been introduced into depictions of the Crucifixion at just this very moment, as, for instance, in the Angers Gospels (Paris, Bibl. municipale, MS 24).[15] Indeed, a late tenth-century gilt cover of a book box in Säckingen actually merges the prong of the cross with the tree of paradise and represents the serpent wrapped around it with Adam and Eve at either side.[16] The prostrated King strives to rise up to the Lord, as does the serpent, though for opposite motives, the King embodying in his very person the effort to rid himself of humankind's sins, the convoluted serpent weighed down by his evil.

One other aspect of the illumination is even more telling because, as Morrison has recognized, it unlocks the significance of the particular act in which Charles is engaged. The miniature featuring the cross and serpent alludes to the brazen serpent that Moses had raised up in the desert, with power to cure those Israelites who had 'sinned against the Lord' but had retained faith in God even when they had been struck down by poisonous snakes 'so that when a snake had bitten a man, he could look at the bronze serpent and recover' (Numbers 21. 6–9). John the Evangelist had cited the episode from Hebrew Scripture as a type of Crucifixion: 'as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have eternal life' (3. 14). Hewing close to John's text, the Church Father Ambrose (*c*. 334/40–397)

[13] Koehler and Mütherich, *Die karolingische Miniaturen*, VI, 172–82.

[14] *Physiologus*, trans. by Curley, p. 19.

[15] Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, II, fig. 390.

[16] Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband*, pp. 116–18.

had already noted: 'Like the serpent, on the cross, Christ poured his healing medicine on the wounds of man. Wherefore the Lord himself says: As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up.'[17]

Christ is the healing serpent, antidote to Satan the death-bearer. Here is the equation found in the two-page opening in Charles's Prayer Book, not only of lethal physical illness and spiritual death through sin but also of the gazing at a material image and being cured by it.

Augustine (354–430) brought together the several themes later found in the Carolingian painted diptych in a number of influential texts, including the *De trinitate* and *In Iohannem tractatus*, 12; to quote the latter:

> What are the biting serpents? Sins, from the mortality of the flesh. What is the serpent lifted up? The Lord's death on the cross. For as death came by the serpent, it was figured by the image of a serpent. The serpent's bite was deadly, the Lord's death is life-giving. A serpent is gazed on that the serpent may have no power. What is this? A death is gazed on, that death may have no power. But whose death? The death of life: if it may be said, the death of life [...] Meanwhile brethren, that we may be healed from sin, let us now gaze on Christ crucified [...] Just as they who looked on that serpent perished not by the serpent's bites, so they who look in faith on Christ's death are healed from the bites of sins. But those were healed from death to temporal life; while here He says, 'that they may have everlasting life'. Now there is the difference between the figurative image and the real thing: the figure procured temporal life; the reality, of which that was the figure, procures eternal life.[18]

During the iconoclastic period, opposing sides cited the account of Moses' brazen serpent as a key proof-text that God had, in fact, authorized the use of material representations in Christianity. Defending the veneration of sacred images, the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 invoked the brazen serpent as evidence for

[17] Ambrose of Milan, *De officiis ministrorum*, ed. by Migne, III. 15 (col. 171): 'Qui quasi serpens exaltatus in cruce, medicinam vulneribus infudit humanis. Unde et ipse Dominus ait: Sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis.'

[18] Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. by Willems, XII. 11 (p. 127): 'Quid sunt serpentes mordentes? peccata de mortalitate carnis. Quis est serpens exaltatus? mors Domini in cruce. Quia enim a serpente mors, per serpentis effigiem figurata est. Morsus serpentis lethalis, mors Domini uitalis. Adtenditur serpens, ut nihil ualeat serpens. Quid est hoc? Adtenditur mors, ut nihil ualeat mors. Sed cujus mors? Mors uitae: si dici potest; Mors uitae [...] Interim modo, fratres, ut a peccato sanemur, Christum crucifixum intueamur [...] Quomodo qui intuebantur illum serpentem, non peribant morsibus serpentum, sic qui intuentur fide mortem Christi, sanantur a morsibus peccatorum. Sed illi sanabantur a morte ad uitam temporalem: hic autem ait, *ut habeant uitam aeternam*. Hoc enim interest inter figuratam imaginem et rem ipsam: figura praestabat uitam temporalem; res ipsa cuius illa figura erat, praestat uitam aeternam.'

Plate 1. *Charles the Bald Praying before the Crucified Christ* (Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, MS *s.n.*, fols 38^{v}–39^{r}). Photo: Fotothek, Munich, Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen.

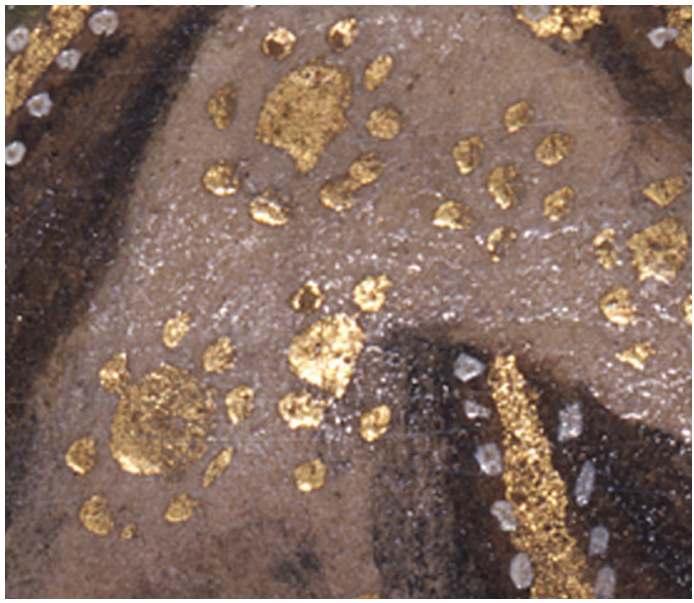

Plate 2a. Detail of Plate 1: Tunic of King Charles.

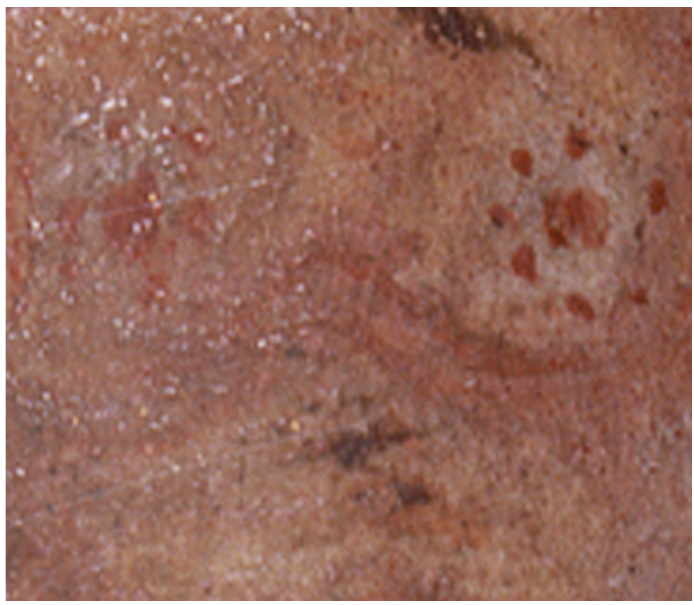

Plate 2b. Detail of Plate 1: Chest of Christ.

Plate 3. *Salamander-Serpent* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 318, fol. 17^{v}).
Photo: Bern, Burgerbibliothek.

Plate 4. *Crucifixion* (Maskell Casket, London, British Museum).
Photo: British Museum.

faith in the divine sanction and proven efficacy of icons, closing the gap between the Old Testament type and the Gospel realization it foreshadowed, and hence, for post-Scriptural worshippers, the gap between God's historical action long before and themselves looking at depictions of the Crucifixion and salvation: 'We believe that gazing at the brazen serpent freed the Israelites from disaster, should we doubt that looking at and venerating pictures of Christ our Lord and his saints might save us?'[19]

As early as the 790s Theodulf of Orléans had devoted a whole chapter to Moses' serpent in his tract against images known as the *Opus caroli* (*Libri carolini*), arguing, among other things, that the true meaning of Moses' raising up of the snake in the desert is to be found in John's Gospel, which implies that salvation is found in things not seen. He scoffed:

> As much as they say that they [the Council of Nicaea] expect to be saved by looking at images, in the same way that Israel was saved by looking on the brazen serpent, if any ailment befall their bodies, let them take themselves to their images and gaze upon them; and then, when they find they get no benefit thereby, let them return to the Lord and expect salvation from him alone, by the intercession of his saints; for he is the only author of all our life and health.[20]

And later Walahfrid Strabo (*c.* 808–49), while recognizing the dangers of venerating images, both included the brazen serpent in his defence of painting and sculpture and remembered its ultimate fate:

> The bronze serpent which Moses made by the Lord's command was not to be despised — in fact, when bites by real snakes were healed by gazing on the image of a snake, because the people (always prone to idolatry) worshipped it afterwards with a kind of superstitious awe, we read that Hezekiah, a very devout king of Judah, destroyed it.[21]

[19] Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, XII, col. 1064.

[20] *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*, ed. by Freeman, I. 18 (pp. 191–92): 'Iam vero quia se imaginum inspectione salvandos credunt, sicut serpentis inspectione Israheliticus populus a serpentibus morsibus sanabatur, si qua forte eis quaedam corporis inclementia accesserit, recurrant ad imagines easque aspiciant, quatenus dum illarum inspectione minime sanati fuerint, revertantur ad Dominum et per sanctorum intercessiones ab eo sanitatem se accepturos credant, qui totius sanitatis et vitae auctor.' That depictions of the crucified Christ were, in fact, seen as serpents is documented only later, in the twelfth-century *Sefer Milhamot Ha-Shem* of Jacob ben Reuben (cf. Bland, *The Artless Jew*, pp. 137–40) and in the sixteenth century by Folengo, *La umanità del figliuolo di dio*, ed. by Ravedati, pp. 142–43. I owe the latter reference to Christopher Nygren.

[21] Walahfrid Strabo, *'Libellus de exordiis'*, ed. by Harting-Correa, pp. 78–79. 'Serpens aeneus, quem ex iussu Domini Moyses fecit, contemnendus erat, quippe cum percussi a veris

With ideas sharpened by such disputes as that between Claudius of Turin and Jonas of Orléans, Charles the Bald's illumination held to the earlier theology of Augustine and a point of view akin to that of the Second Council of Nicaea. Contemplating the *imaginarii serpentis* (the serpent image) is the antidote for the poison of the *veri serpentis* (the true serpent).[22] The reference to the brazen serpent, in this way, imparted to the diptych in Charles's Prayer Book both the notions of healing through faith in Christ and also the claims of image theory itself, according to which looking at the material representation could have the effect of curing.

Indeed, it may have been to reinforce the healing potential of images of the crucified Christ against just such criticism as Theodulf's and such ambiguities as Walahfrid's that Carolingians came to introduce serpents into depictions of Crucifixions like Charles the Bald's, thereby clarifying the medicinal potential through allusions to the Fall of Adam and Eve, the image of the serpent raised in the desert that healed the believers who looked at it, and Christ's victory over the beastly devil — all within an image of Christ's redemptive Cross, itself an apotropaic device.[23] There was ample weight in Frankish thought, and in their Anglo-Saxon antecedents, for this point of view.

Bede (672/73–735) cited Moses' image in his *De templo* (*c.* 730) among other apparent contradictions of the prohibition of images in the Mosaic commandment that he found in Scripture:

> For if it was permissible to raise up the brazen serpent on a tree that the Israelites might live by looking at it, why is it not permissible that the exaltation of the Lord our Saviour on the Cross whereby he conquered death be recalled to the minds of the faithful pictorially, or even his other miracles and cures whereby he wonderfully

serpentibus imaginarii serpentis contemplatione sanarentur, quem, qui populus semper in idolatriam proclivis postmodum quadam superstitiosa veneratus est religione, Ezechias rex Iuda religiosissimus legiture confregisse.'

[22] The association of the material representation and Old Testament typology was enacted in the liturgy. According to the *Ordo romanus antiquus*, when clerics genuflected before the cross on Good Friday, they declared: 'God, you who ordered your servant Moses to lift up a brazen serpent [...] for the purpose of delivering those souls infected by lethal venom, so that whoever there was who had been afflicted by a death-bringing wound, might look to it, and evade that deadly venom, and gain the life of longed-for health; signifying you yourself far in the future, when for the health of your creature, you would be lifted up on the gibbet of the cross: so that he whom the devil will have captured with the weapons of envy, your desirable suffering might recall to his homeland, grant as to me miserable and a sinner, so to all whom you purchased with your blood, who today as suppliants venerate your holy passion and adore the tree of life, that we may escape with your help the snares of the devil, and merit to be participants in eternal life.'

[23] Cf. Kessler, 'Evil Eye(ing)'.

> triumphed over the same author of death, since the sight of these things often tends to elicit great compunction in the beholders.[24]

A caption ascribed to Alcuin (*c.* 735–804), the great link between Bede and the Franks, likewise underscores the idea of medical cure and salvation while engaging the reader/viewer directly:

> Behold the brazen serpent who heals the people's wounds
> Now, you sinner, look at it with a devout mind.[25]

True to this intellectual lineage and closer to Charles the Bald, Hrabanus Maurus recognized the potential in his Homily 72 on the passage from John:

> For, as a matter of fact, sins are expressed through the serpents, which bring death in their wake, of the soul and the body, not only those of fire, of virulence, of death, but truly through a serpent our first parents were led to sin, and sinning passed from immortality to mortality. Truly, through the brazen serpent the Lord is shown who came in the form of a sinner. Because, just as the brazen serpent is an image, so, too, it is like the serpent of death, but not directly in the members does he have the noxious poison, or more the striking; he was cured by the serpents in his exaltation; for just as there is no doubt that the Redeemer of humankind suffered death on the Cross, not having the flesh of a sinner, but wearing the image of a sinner's body, believing in him will free from all sin and from death.[26]

In the Prayer Book, Charles's physical contortions replicate both Satan's twisted form and, yet more deeply, because in human form, the Saviour's. The allusion to the snake hoisted up in the desert is realized directly in the twisted body of

[24] Bede, *De templo*, ed. by Hurst, bk II (pp. 212–13): 'Si enim licebat serpentem exaltari aeneum in ligno quem aspicientes filii Israhel uiuerent, cur non licet exaltationem domini saluatoris in cruce qua mortem uicit ad memoriam fidelibus depingendo reduci uel etiam alia eius miracula et sanationes quibus de eodem mortis auctore mirabiliter triumphauit cum horum aspectus multum saepe compunctionis soleat praestare contuentibus et eis quoque qui litteras ignorant quasi uiuam dominicae historiae pandere lectionem?'

[25] 'Aeneus en serpens populi qui vulnera sanat | nunc tu peccator aspice mente pia' (Arnulf, *Versus ad picturas*, p. 149); discussed by Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, p. 17.

[26] Rabanus Maurus, *Homiliae*, ed. by Migne, col. 285: 'Recte etenim per serpentes peccata, quae animam simul et corpus ad interitum trahunt, exprimuntur, non solum quia igniti, quia virulenti, quia ad perimendum sunt statuti, verum etiam quia per serpentem primi parentes nostri ad peccandum persuasi, ac de immortalibus sunt peccando mortales effecti. Recte per serpentem aeneum Dominus ostenditur qui venit in similitudinem carnis peccati. Quia sicut aeneus serpens effigiem quidem ignitis serpentibus similem, sed nullum prorsus in suis membris habuit ardorem veneni nocentis, quin potius percussos, a serpentibus sua exaltatione sanabat: sic nimirum sic Redemptor humani generis non carnem peccati, sed similitudinem induit carnis peccati, in qua mortem crucis patiendo, credentes in se ab omni peccato et ab ipsa etiam morte liberaret.'

the Saviour himself, his knees jutting out to the left and his legs and upper torso turned the other way. Like the serpent beneath the cross, the sinuous posture may occur here for the first time, the Drogo Sacramentary again being the main contender for priority. The tortuous Christ replaces the type of the crucified Lord passed down from Late Antiquity and found, for example, on the Maskell Casket of about four hundred (London, British Museum [1856,0623.4]; Plate 4),[27] with its static frontal pose, a type well known during the ninth century, for instance, in manuscripts of Hrabanus Maurus's influential meditation on the Cross, *In honorem sanctae crucis*.[28] Paired with Charles's contemplative posture shown at the left, Christ's figure also conveys the idea in John's Gospel that Christ fulfilled the prophetic image of Moses' healing serpent hanging on a post.[29] As Hrabanus Maurus declared in the *De universo*: 'The *serpent* is Christ, as in the book of Numbers, "Make for yourself a serpent of bronze", because Christ came in the likeness of the flesh of a sinner, but did not have the poison of sin.'[30] He went even further at the very opening of his *In honorem sanctae crucis*: 'He became a sanctifying serpent, an illustrious mediator, | Worm and man; He who is life has carried off his prey to the Enemy.'[31] Haimo of Auxerre (d. *c*. 855) perpetuated the trope of Christ as sanctifying serpent;[32] and the idea is articulated as well

[27] Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, pp. 82–83; Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, pp. 329–32.

[28] Rabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, ed. by Perrin, pp. 26–32.

[29] On the meanings of serpentine poses, cf. Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, pp. 82–83, 411–14, and Jolly, *Made in God's Image?*, pp. 44–45, 61–63.

[30] Rabanus Maurus, *De universe libri XXII*, ed. by Migne, col. 233: 'Serpens Christus propter sapientiam, cujus figuram serpens ille aereus gerebat, quem Moyses in ligno suspendit, cujus intuitu percussi a serpentibus sanabantur.'

[31] Rabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, ed. by Perrin, Carmen 1, figura 1 (p. 28): 'Serpens sanctificans, illustris fit mediator: | Vermis homo isque, retraxit ab hoste et vita rapina.' See also Hrabanus's elucidation of the poem, p. 32. Explaining the various names of Jesus (e.g. 'lamb', because of his innocence and 'lion', because of his kingship and strength (*fortitude*)), he wrote: 'Serpens, pro morte et sapientia. Et vermis idem, quia resurrexit.'

[32] Haimo of Halberstadt, *Homiliarum*, ed. by Migne, cols 583–84: 'Factaque est mira res, et antea inaudita. Mordebantur a serpentibus, aspiciebant serpentem, et sanabantur. Aenei ergo serpentis exaltatio Domini passionem praefiguravit, qui exaltandus erat cruce, sicut in praesenti loco dignatus est exponere. De qua ipse alibi ait: "Si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum." Nec cuilibet indignum videri debet, id est Dominus per assumptam humanitatem serpenti comparetur; quia ipse per Prophetam de seipso loquitur: "Ego autem sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis." Et sicut in septuaginta interpretibus legitur, scarabaeus clamabat de ligno, id est Christus de cruce. Sicut enim serpens ille similitudinem habebat ignitorum serpentium, sed tamen a veneno serpentium alienus erat: sic Dominus Jesus

on a late Carolingian book cover in Paris (BnF, MS lat. 9383) which features a Crucifixion in ivory framed by a bejewelled gilt frame inscribed 'Christ, the pious sacrifice, restored on the cross | what the serpent fiercely destroyed through his evil mischief.'[33] No serpent is actually pictured there; the *pia victima* (pious sacrifice) himself replaces it.[34]

By mimicking the snake's sinuosity, Christ's body engages the Lord's dual nature, enabling those looking at the image (in the first instance, Charles) to ascend from the world of flesh and suffering to the eternal realm, but only if they have faith. Like the Israelites in the desert, Christian believers are led by images of the Crucifixion into what Morrison has called 'a hermeneutic double game' in which the wounded Saviour heals the sinner and the sanctifying serpent offers an antidote to the poison of original sin. As Augustine had explained, 'Just as they who looked on that serpent perished not by the serpent's bites, so they who look in faith on Christ's death are healed from the bites of sins.'

Underlying these various manifestations is the fundamental homeopathic principle of *similia similibus curantur* (like afflictions are cured by like medicines) or its converse, which would have been confirmed by the use in actual medical practice of snake toxins to cure poison. In his discussion of remedies and medications in the *Etymologies*, for instance, the encyclopaedist of post-Roman Europe,

Christus apparuit in similitudine carnis peccati, nullam tamen maculam traxit peccati. Aeneus autem dictus est serpens propter infinitam in Christo aeternitatem. Aes autem durabile est metallum, et valde sonorum, et natura aeternitatis nec initium habuit, nec finem habebit. Vel quia aes rubicundum habet colorem, aeneus dictus est serpens, propter pretiosi sanguinis effusionem. Igniti autem serpentes, quorum morsibus homines peribant, venenosas cogitationes et mortiferas persuasiones significant. Quae, cum delectationem perversam usque ad consensum perducant, quasi pungendo animam interimunt. Nam et primi parentes nostri in paradiso serpentis astutia sunt decepti. Miro ergo ordine contra serpentem ponitur serpens, quia per hoc quod Dominus pro nobis passionem sustinuit, antiqui serpentis caput contrivit. Quicunque ergo originalis peccati punctione, vel cujuscunque vulneris contagione vult sanari, intueatur serpentem in stipite, id est, confiteatur Christum in cruce, et hunc crucifixum. Cumque tali fide armatus crucifixerit membra sua cum vitiis et concupiscentiis, non solum a mortis periculo liberari, sed etiam ad vitam pervenire merebitur aeternam. Unde et subditur: "Ut omnis qui credit in ipso, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam." "Omnis enim", ait Scriptura, "quicunque invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit, sicut ipse Salvator in Evangelio ait: 'Qui credit in me, etiamsi mortuus fuerit, vivet. Et omnis qui vivit et credit in me, non morietur in aeternum.' Ille autem vere credit, qui sic vivit sicut Christus praecipit. Qui autem confitetur verbis, sed factis eum negat, non vitam meretur, sed poenam. Quia, sicut ait Jacobus apostolus: 'Fides sine operibus mortua est.' Et iterum: 'Tu credis quod unus sit Deus? Bene facis, et daemones credunt, et contremiscunt.'"'

[33] 'In cruce restituit XPS, pia victima factus | Quod mala fraus tulerat, serpentis preda ferocis' (Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband*, pp. 110–11).

[34] Ferber, 'Crucifixion Iconography'.

Isidore of Seville (*c.* 560–636), noted that 'antidote means "derived from the opposite" in Latin, for opposites are cured by opposites', but then immediately cited what seems to be the contrary example of like healing like: 'an antidote made from snakes expels venom, so that poison is resolved by poison'.[35]

Likewise, only by becoming a man and dying could Christ redeem humankind's sin that had brought death into the world. In turn, contemplating the serpent subdued by the new serpent neutralizes poisons, both physical and spiritual. Haimo of Auxerre expressed the idea clearly when he wrote:

> I was therefore awestruck by the arranging of a serpent placed alongside a serpent, because through this the Lord endured suffering for us, crushing the head of the ancient serpent. Therefore, whoever wants to heal the sting of original sin or the infection of the wounds, look at the serpent on the tree, that is, acknowledge Christ on the cross being crucified. Whosoever is armed with faith crucifies his limbs with vice and desire, is freed not only from the danger of death, but merits to be led to eternal life.[36]

But how was the cure effected by looking at the crucifix actually understood to work? Depictions of Christ's salvific death were meant to serve as instruments for eliciting compassion, the emotional response to the Saviour's agonizing death, as Bede had already recognized. The contemplation of a pictured Crucifixion engaged the faithful in a reciprocal process of examining the human image of Christ and considering the divinity behind it. An object of interpretation, of the sort that Morrison has distinguished from objects of feeling, in this instance, came to depend for its effectiveness on the eliding of this very distinction between decoding exegetical iconography and empathetic response. Through the pictures and words, a person with pure faith is able to move through the human form seen in a painted image to the divinity he or she carries within, that is, to reconcile what Augustine doubted could be assimilated, namely the 'difference between the figurative image and the real thing: the figure procured temporal life; the reality, of which that was the figure, procures eternal life'. In the Carolingian

[35] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum libri XX*, ed. by Migne, IV. 9 (col. 193): 'Nam antidotum Graece, Latine "ex contrario datum" dicitur. Contraria enim contrariis medicinae ratione curantur. At contra ex similii [...] antidotum serpentinum, quo venena pelluntur, ut pestis peste solvatur.'

[36] Homily 108 (*In octava Pentecostes*), ascribed to Haimo of Halberstadt (d. 853); Haimo of Halberstadt, *Homiliarum*, ed. by Migne, col. 584: 'Miro ergo ordine contra serpentem ponitur serpens, quia per hoc quod Dominus pro nobis passionem sustinuit, antiqui serpentis caput contrivit.'

period, once again, it was Hrabanus Maurus who put the idea most clearly into words as he concluded one of his discussions of image veneration: 'Death is signified by the serpent and eternity by the bronze; clearly, in order to proclaim death through his humanity, and at the same time his divinity in the bronze.'[37]

Hrabanus recognized that what allowed the 'beholding of an image of the Passion of the Son of God' to function in this way was precisely the kind of dynamic process that is evoked by the diptych in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald. The interrogation of the material image involves a kind of diagnosis needed before a cure can be prescribed, that is, a visual examination of 'symptoms' with the goal of discovering a cause. On the first round, Charles discovers that Christ, through his death on the Cross, had 'dispelled the world's sins'. Then he realizes that, as a part of the world, he is himself wounded and can only be cured by praying to Christ. The interaction is supported graphically by the play of decoration, the gold ornament on Charles's regalia that gets refashioned as Christ's wounds — the red marks on his chest, the opening in his side, and the golden nails. As Morrison put it (referring to Remigius of Auxerre), 'the encounter between a sick person and a physician [involves] two actions, the turning of the wounded to the healer and the healer to the sick'. Worldly splendour (including art itself), the looking at what the painted image asserts, is nothing; humankind's redemption comes only through Christ's sacrifice and beneficence.

It is instructive in this context to note that medical practice was being transformed in much the same way at the very moment that the new curative crucifix was being introduced, from a doctor-centred process inherited from Antiquity to a consultative, dialogic procedure. Thus, the prologue *Quodmodo visitare debeas infirmum* in medical manuals, apparently composed about the ninth century, emphasizes the importance of questioning and touching and especially looking at the patient before reaching a judgement about treatment. 'Do not visit every sick person with a single criterion', the short tract begins, 'but on the contrary, if you wish to learn honestly, listen. [...] because when you will be informed of all things, it will be easy to discover the cause of the illness and not difficult in finding a cure for it.'[38] To examine the image of King Charles contemplating the

[37] Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in librum sapientiae libri III*, ed. by Migne, col. 746: 'Dominus et in serpente mortuus et in aere significaretur aeternus; videlicet ut indicaretur mortuus per humanitatem, et tamen esset quasi aeneus propter divinitatem.' Hrabanus was incorporating Isidore of Seville's commentary on the book of Numbers: Isidore of Seville, *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum*, ed. by Migne, col. 355.

[38] 'Mox qui ingredieris ad infirmum interoga eum si quid forsitan dolet; et si tibi dixerit eo quod aliquid dolet, item require ab eo si fortis est dolor an non: est assiduous an non; postea

suffering Christ is to participate in the reality of the event depicted; and it is that empathetic participation that leads to a cure.

Here, we touch upon the revolutionary originality of Carolingian art more generally, its dynamic of self-discovery that Morrison so brilliantly analysed in '"Know Thyself": Music in the Carolingian Renaissance' and other writings.[39] Contemporaries of the fifth-century ivory plaque in which the Crucifixion first appeared, Caesarius of Arles (468/70–542), for instance, and Augustine, had rejected any such function for art, the former asserting that 'paintings made on walls appeal only to the human and not to the spiritual eye'[40] and the latter stating emphatically: 'For a picture is looked at in a different way from that in which a writing is looked at. When you have seen a picture, to have seen and praised it is the whole thing; when you see a writing, this is not the whole, since you are reminded also to read it.'[41]

Like much Carolingian art, the miniature in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald turns the claim on its head, implying that a picture is a 'whole thing' only when it is read as well as seen, that is, only when a viewer projects into the pictured action his or her own behaviour. In this it is like prayer itself, evoked in the titulus; as Smaragdus of St Mihiel (*c.* 760–*c.* 840) explained (extending Ambrose's formula), compassionate tears elicited by praying to the crucified Christ are a healing medicine.[42] So, too, the image of the crucified Christ can

tenes ei pulsum, et vides si febrit an non. [...] et inspicis utrasque partes et vide si periculum forsitan sit illis [...] Quoniam cum haec omnia requisieris facile ejus causas agnoscis et cura tibi difficilis non videtur.' See *Collectio Salernitana*, ed. by de Renzi and others, II, 73; Kouzis, 'Das Fragment *Quo modo debes visitare infirmum*'. Cf. Troncarelli, 'Un pietà più profonda'. The dating of this tract and related Greek treatises is complicated; cf. Paolo of Nicaea, *Manuale medico*, ed. and trans. by Bio, pp. 15–17. See also Guillen, 'The Ethics of Diagnosis in Early Christianity'.

[39] Morrison, '"Know Thyself"'.

[40] Caesarius of Arles, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Morin, II, 114: 'Nec tabulae pictae adfigi, nec in parietibus vel camaris ulla pictura fieri debet: quia in monasterio, quod non spiritalibus, sed humanis tantum oculis patet.'

[41] Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. by Willems, XXIII. 5 (p. 245): 'Aliter enim uidetur picture, aliter uidentur litterae. Picturam cum uideris, hoc est toum uidisse, laudasse; literas cum uideris, non hoc est totum, quonima commoneris et legere.'

[42] Ardo Smaragdus, *Commentaria in regulam Sancti Benedicti*, ed. by Migne, chap. 20 (col. 840): 'Nec se in multiloquio quisquam, sed potius in puritate cordis et lacrymarum ubertate exaudiri credit. Non enim longae orationis prolixitas, sed promptae mentis intentio pietatem clementis judicis excitat. Orandum ergo semper est, ut largiatur delinquentibus veniam, qui languenti mundo per crucis passionem infundit medicinam: salus mundi aeterna, Christus Jesus Dominus noster.'

cure the faithful and humbled viewer of carnal and moral wounds through empathy with the Saviour's suffering, made necessary because of humankind's sin and made possible when God assumed the serpent's flesh and again sanctified it with his divine nature.[43]

Herbert L. Kessler
Professor of the History of Art
Johns Hopkins University

[43] The notion of art as prophylaxis, so inventively developed during the Carolingian period, was played out in later medieval art; see Kessler, 'Christ the Magic Dragon'. It had an important afterlife during the Renaissance as well, for example, in Bronzino's chapel of Eleonora of Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence; see Cox-Rearick, *Bronzino's Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio*, pp. 124–26 and 228–29; Edelstein, 'Bronzino in the Service of Eleonora di Toledo'; as a foundation for the Holy Face at the centre of the chapel's dome, the brazen serpent bears on the origins of Christian art and, as Edelstein showed, it also played a medical role.

Works Cited

Manuscripts and Archival Resources

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 318
Paris, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 24
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 323
——, MS lat. 9383
——, MS lat. 9428

Primary Sources

Ambrose of Milan, *De officiis ministrorum*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–65), XVI, cols 23–184B

Ardo Smaragdus, *Commentaria in regulam Sancti Benedicti*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–65), CII, cols 689A–932C

Augustine of Hippo, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. by Radbodus Willems, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 36, 2nd edn (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003)

Bede, *De templo*, in Bede, *Opera exegetica*, ed. by David Hurst and others, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 118A, 119, 119A, 119B, 120, 121, 121A, 7 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962–2001), III: *De tabernaculo; De templo; In Ezram et Neemiam*, ed. by David Hurst (1969), pp. 212–23

Caesarius of Arles, *Sancti Caesarii episcopi arelatensis: Opera omnia nunc primum in unum collecta*, ed. by Germain Morin, 2 vols in 3 (Brugge: Marteoli, 1937–42), II: *Regulae monasticae* (1942)

Collectio Salernitana: Ossia documenti inediti e trattati di medicina appartenenti alla scuola medica Salernitana, ed. by Salvatore de Renzi and others, 5 vols (Napoli: Filiatre-Sebezio, 1852–59)

Folengo, Teofilo, *La umanità del figliuolo di dio*, ed. by Simona Gatti Ravedati, Contributi e proposte, 47 (Alexandria: Orso, 2000)

Haimo of Halberstadt, *Homiliarum sive concionum ad plebem in evangelia de tempore et sanctis*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–65), CXVIII, cols 9–816B

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum libri XX*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–65), LXXXII, cols 179–238C

——, *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu quaestiones in vetus testamentum*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–65), LXXXIII, cols 207B–424D

Jonas of Orléans, *De cultu imaginum*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–65), CVI, cols 305–388A

Medicina medievale: Testi dell alto medioevo, miniature del codice di Kassel, regole salutary salernitane, incisioni del fasciculo de medicina, anatomia di Mondino de' Liuzzi, ed. by Luigi Firpo (Torino: Unione Tipografico-edictrice Torinese, 1972)

Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini), ed. by Ann Freeman, with Paul Meyvaert, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Concilia*, 8 vols, plus 4 supplement vols, to date (Hannover: Hahn, 1989–), supplement I to vol. II, *Concilia aevi Karolini [742–842]* (1998)

Paolo of Nicaea, *Manuale medico*, ed. and trans. by Anna Maria Ieraci Bio, Hellenica et byzantina neapolitana, 16 (Napoli: Bibliopolis, 1996)

Physiologus, trans. by Michael J. Curley (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979)

Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, ed. by Ernst Dümmler (vols I–II) and Ludwig Traube (vol. III), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini medii aevi*, 6 vols in 7 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881–1951)

Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in librum sapientiae libri III*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–65), CIX, cols 671A–762D

——, *De universe libri XXII*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–65), CXI, cols 9–614B

——, *Homiliae*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–65), CX, cols 9–468B

——, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, ed. by Michel Perrin, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 100, 100A, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997)

Theodulf of Orléans, 'The Poetry of Theodulf of Orleans: A Translation and Critical Study', trans. by Nikolai A. Alexandrenko (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Tulane University, 1970)

——, *Theodulfi carmina*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini medii aevi*, 6 vols in 7 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881–1951), I, ed. by Ernst Dümmler (1881; repr. 1997), pp. 437–568

Walahfrid Strabo, *Walahfrid Strabo's 'Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum'*, trans. by Alice L. Harting-Correa, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1996)

Secondary Studies

Arnulf, Arwed, *Versus ad picturas: Studien zur Titulusdichtung als Quellengattung der Kunstgeschichte von der Antike bis zum Hochmittelalter*, Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien, 72 (München: Deutscher Kunst, 1997)

Bland, Kalman P., *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000)

Brenk, Beat, 'Schriftlichkeit und Bildlichkeit in der Hofschule Karls d. Gr.', in *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 41, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1994), II, 631–91

Chazelle, Celia, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

——, 'Crucifixes and the Liturgy in the Ninth-Century Carolingian Church', in *Il Volto Santo in Europa*, ed. by Michele Ferrari and Andreas Meyer, Collana La Balestra, 47 (Lucca: Istituto Storico Lucchese, 2005), pp. 67–93

——, 'An *Exemplum* of Humility: The Crucifixion Image in the Drogo Sacramentary', in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. by Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), pp. 27–35

Cox-Rearick, Janet, *Bronzino's Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio*, California Studies in the History of Art, 29 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)

Deshman, Robert, 'The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald', *Viator*, 11 (1980), 385–417

Edelstein, Bruce, 'Bronzino in the Service of Eleonora di Toledo and Cosimo I de' Medici: Conjugal Patronage and the Painter-Courtier', in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Sheryl E. Reiss and David G. Wilkins, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 54 (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2001), pp. 226–56

Ferber, Stanley, 'Crucifixion Iconography in a Group of Carolingian Ivory Plaques', *Art Bulletin*, 48 (1966), 323–34

Goldschmidt, Adolph, with Paul Gustav Hübner and Otto Homburger, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, 8.–11. Jahrhundert*, Denkmäler deutschen Kunst (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1914; repr. 1969)

Guillen, Diego Garcia, 'The Ethics of Diagnosis in Early Christianity and the Middle Ages', in *The Ethics of Diagnosis*, ed. by José L. Peset and Diego Gracia Guillen, Philosophy and Medicine, 40 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1992), pp. 19–27

Jolly, Penny Howell, *Made in God's Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice*, California Studies in the History of Art: Discovery Series, 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997)

Kessler, Herbert L., 'Christ the Magic Dragon', in *Making Thoughts, Making Pictures, Making Memories: A Special Issue in Honor of Mary J. Carruthers*, ed. by Anne D. Hedeman and Clark Maines, special issue, *Gesta*, 48 (2009), 119–34

——, 'Evil Eye(ing): Romanesque Art as a Shield of Faith', in *Romanesque Art*, ed. by Colum Hourihane, Index of Christian Art Occasional Papers, 10 (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, 2008), pp. 107–35

——, '"Hoc visibile imaginatum figurat illud invisibile verum": Imagining God in Pictures of Christ', in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from 'Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400 to 1000' (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003)*, ed. by Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 293–328

Koehler, Wilhelm, and Florentine Mütherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen: Im Auftrage des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, Denkmäler deutscher Kunst, 6 vols (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1930–99), II: *Die Hofschule Karls des Grossen* (1999); III: *Metzer Handschriften* (1960); V: *Die Hofschule Karls des Kahlen* (1982); VI: *Die Schule von Reims* (1994)

Kouzis, Aristole, 'Das Fragment *Quo modo debes visitare infirmum* und seine Abhängigkeit vom Werke des Paulus Nicaeus', *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 6 (1928), 91–94

Lafitte, Marie-Pierre, and Charlotte Denoël, 'L'Évangélaire de Charlemagne', *Art de l'enluminure*, 20 (2007), 1–45

Mansi, Giovanni Domenico, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Orbis litterarum, 53 vols in 58 (Paris: Welter, 1901–27; repr. Graz: ADEVA, 1960–62)

Mathews, Thomas F., *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, rev. edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003)

Morrison, Karl F., '"Know Thyself": Music in the Carolingian Renaissance', in *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 39.1 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1992), pp. 369–479

Reudenbach, Bruno, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar: ein Buch für die Reformpolitik Karls des Grossen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1998)

Schiller, Gertrud, *Iconography of Christian Art* (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1972)

Spier, Jeffrey, *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008)

Steenbock, Frauke, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1965)

Summers, David, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981)

Troncarelli, Fabrio, 'Un pietà più profonda: Scienza e medicina nella cultura monastica medievale italiana', in *Dall'eremo al cenobio: La civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante*, Antica Madre (Milano: Scheiwiller, 1987), pp. 703–27

Volbach, Wolfgang Fritz, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3rd edn (Mainz: von Zabern, 1976)

Waddell, Helen, *Poetry in the Dark Ages*, University of Glasgow W. P. Ker Memorial Lecture (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1948)